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Department of State

INCOMING TELEGRAM  
CT033

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ACTION ARA-14

9640

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INFO OCT-01 150-00 H4-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
1NR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
1CA-11 AID-05 FC-01 1D-13 EB-06 DMB-01 TRSE-00  
NMB-02 COME-02 /103 W

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FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7223  
INFO USCINCSO QUARRY HTS  
USCONSOALANT

SECTION 1 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 6731

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: SHUN, PEPR, AR, US  
SUBJECT: CONTINUING REACTION TO US HUMAN RIGHTS  
SANCTIONS POLICY

REF: (A) BUENOS AIRES 6363 (B) BUENOS AIRES 6395  
(C) BUENOS AIRES 6396

SUMMARY. ALTHOUGH THE QUANTITY OF ANTI-US PRESS  
PLAY IS PETERING OUT, THE EMOTIONAL CONTENT LINGERS  
ON. MUCH OF THE COMMENTARY IS PARANOID, FOLLOWING  
SET PATTERNS OF NATIONAL ANGUISH WHEN ARGENTINE  
OBJECTIVES HAVE BEEN "MISUNDERSTOOD" ABOARD. THERE  
IS LITTLE EVIDENCE THAT THE ANTI-US CAMPAIGN WAS EXPLICITLY  
INSPIRED BY THE VIDELA GOVERNMENT SOURCES AND INDEED  
IT WAS SOMEWHAT LESS INTENSE THAN WE ANTICIPATED.

OFFICIAL RESPONSE TO THE DERIAN STATEMENT HAS BEEN LIMITED TO  
DATE TO A FOREIGN MINISTRY COMMUNIQUE AND CANCELATION OF  
ARGENTINE PARTICIPATION IN UNTAI. WE HAVE  
BEEN FOREWARNED TO EXPECT A RECURRENCE OF ALL  
FEELING WHEN THE HUMPHREY-KENNEDY BILL BECOMES  
EFFECTIVE, HOWEVER. SOME PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY VOLUNTARY  
ORGANIZATIONS ATTACKING THE ANTI-ARGENTINE DEFAMATION  
CAMPAIGN FROM ABOARD HAVE CONTAINED AN UNDERLYING PLEA  
TO THE GOA, HAVING WON THE WAR, TO BEGIN WAGING THE PEACE --  
BUT SUCH CALLS ARE STILL SPARSE AND, WE THINK, PREMATURE  
IN TERMS OF HAVING AN EFFECT ON HARD-CORE VIEWS IN THE  
ARMED FORCES. END SUMMARY.

1. WEEKS AFTER THE EXIM BANK DECISION AND PATT  
DERIAN'S BOMBHELL CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY ON ARGENTINA,  
EMOTIONAL VESTIGES OF THE REACTION ARE STILL QUITE  
EVIDENT IN THE ARGENTINE MEDIA AND IN CONVERSATIONAL  
COMMENTARY, ALTHOUGH THE VOLUME IS DIMINISHING. HOURLY  
SPOT ANNOUNCEMENTS ON THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT-OWNED  
RADIO STATION SUN UP THE HODD: "MR. CARTER: KEEP YOUR  
MONEY OR USE IT FOR NEGROES IN YOUR COUNTRY WHO ARE DYING  
OF HUNGER. WE DO NOT NEED YOUR MONEY TO BUILD YACRETA  
ANYHOW." FEATURE WRITERS TAKE PSYCHIC COMFORT FROM  
PRESIDENT CARTER'S DEPRESSED POPULARITY RATINGS AND FROM  
STORIES THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS IN POLITICAL TROUBLE  
BACK HOME. GENERAL GORDON SUMNER'S CONGRESSIONAL  
TESTIMONY, SENATOR HOLLINGS' STATEMENT AND HENRY KISSINGER'S  
RECENT SPEECH ON HUMAN RIGHTS ARE HAILED AS HOPEFUL SIGNS THAT A  
COUNTER-REFORMATION STRUGGLE IS GOING ON IN WASHINGTON, BUT  
FRUSTRATION SETS IN AGAIN AS A RESULT OF GENERAL  
MCMAULIFFE'S REPORTED DECLARATION THAT THERE IS NO  
DIVISION BETWEEN STATE DEPARTMENT AND PENTAGON HUMAN  
RIGHTS POLICIES.

2. THE DIVERSIONARY PRESS EMPHASIS ON US RACIAL PROBLEMS  
IN THE FORM OF CRUDE PHOTO MONTAGES SEEMS TO HAVE RUN  
ITS COURSE. ON JOURNALIST SOURCE ALLEGES THAT LA RAZON'S  
TREATMENT OF THE DOMESTIC US RACIAL SCENE WAS THE RESULT  
OF GOA PRESSURES. WHILE MILITARY INTERVENTORS OF SOME

RADIO STATIONS REPORTEDLY WERE ACTIVE IN IMAGINING ANTI-US  
COMMENTARY, WE DO NOT HAVE CONCLUSIVE CONFIRMATION OF A COORDINATED  
GOA EFFORT. EVEN IF TRUE, IT REALLY WAS NOT NECESSARY.  
IT DOES NOT TAKE MUCH AROUSE THE NATIONALIST BEAST THAT  
LURNS BEHIND ALMOST EVERY ARGENTINE BREAST AND ARGENTINE  
MOVEMENT, CONDITIONED TO THE ART OF SURVIVAL IN A COUNTRY WHICH  
HAS EXPERIENCED SHARP SWINGS OF THE POLITICAL PENDULUM  
FOR DECADES, HAVE JUST BEEN DOING WHAT COMES NATURALLY.  
AT ANY RATE, OVER THE PAST WEEK CARTOONISTS AND WRITERS  
APPEAR TO HAVE SEIZED ON A NEW TARGET IN THE WAKE OF  
THE AERUPT SUSPENSION OF ARGENTINE-CHILEAN TALKS OVER  
THE BEAGLE CHANNEL DISPUTE. IT MAY BE THAT THE ARGENTINES  
ATTENTION SPAN IS QUITE LIMITED, BUT, WHATEVER THE  
EXPLANATION, PINOCHET SEEMS TO BE REPLACING PATT DERIAN  
AS PUBLIC ENEMY NO. 1 OF THE MOMENT.

3. OFFICIAL ATTENTION IS ALSO TURNED TO MAKING A  
SUCCESS OUT OF THE UN CONFERENCE ON TECHNICAL COOPERATION  
BETWEEN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND MAKING THE MOST OUT  
OF THE VISITS OF UN GENERAL SECRETARY HUNT WALDHEIM  
AND ILO DIRECTOR GENERAL FRANCIS BLANCHARD.

4. THE AMBASSADOR, JUST RETURNED FROM HIS FIRST OFFICIAL  
VISIT TO THE PROVINCE OF CORRIENTES, WAS IMPRESSED BY  
THE WARM WELCOME HE RECEIVED FROM HIS GRACIOUS HOSTS.  
NO SIGN OF A GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE US  
THERE. FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD MEMBER PHILIP CALDWELL  
AND THE US PETROLEUM TRADE MISSION HAVE ALSO BEEN POLITELY  
RECEIVED IN GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMIC CIRCLES.

5. NOW THAT THE MEDIA'S ANTI-US CAMPAIGN SEEMS TO BE  
SUBSIDING, IT STRIKES US THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY  
COMMUNIQUE RESPONDING TO DERIAN'S BLUNT PUBLIC ASSESSMENT  
AND THE ACCOMPANYING EMOTIONAL DISPLAY WERE LESS INTENSE  
THAN THE ARGENTINES ARE CAPABLE OF ORCHESTRATING. HOWEVER,  
SOME LOCAL SOURCES SAYING THIS CONTINUES--ARGUING  
THAT THE OFFICIAL REACTION AGAINST THE US WAS UNUSUALLY  
MILD, GIVEN THE FACT THAT THE INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN  
AGAINST ARGENTINA ORIGINATED PRIMARILY NOT FROM THE US  
BUT FROM WESTERN EUROPE WHERE THE MONTONEROS MAINTAIN  
THE PRINCIPAL BASES AND ENJOY THE COMPLACENT TOLERANCE  
OF EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC POLITICIANS. THESE SOURCES  
EMPHASIZE THAT ARGENTINE WRATH HAS NOT CONCENTRATED ON  
THE EUROPEANS. TO THE CONTRARY, AN IMPORTANT EFFORT  
CURRENTLY UNDERWAY IS THE VISIT OF A GROUP OF FRENCH  
LEGISLATORS AND MAYORS AS A FIRST STEP TOWARD IMPROVING  
FRANCO-ARGENTINE RELATIONS AND INCREASING TRADE BETWEEN  
THE TWO COUNTRIES. EXPLANATION OF THIS PHENOMENON, WE

ARGENTINA PROJECT (S200000044)

U.S. DEPT. OF STATE, A/RPS/IPS

Margaret P. Grafeld, Director

( ) Release ( ) Excise ( ) Deny

Exemption(s):

Declassify: ( ) In Part ( ) In Full

( ) Classify as ( ) Extend as ( ) Downgrade to

Date Declassify on Reason

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## Department of State

ROUTING  
TELEGRAMPAGE 01 BUENOS 06731 02 OF 02 301233Z  
ACTION ARA-14

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BUENOS 06731 02 OF 02 301233Z

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 CODE-00 PH-05 H-01  
INR-10 L-03 HSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
ICA-11 AID-05 PC-01 IO-13 EB-02 OMR-01 TRSE-00  
XMR-02 COME-00 /103 W

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R 292148Z AUG 78  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7224  
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SECTION 2 OF 2 BUENOS AIRES 6731

ARE TOLD, IS FOUND IN THE ARGENTINE BELIEF THAT EUROPE IS A FADING POWER ENTITY IN THE WORLD POLITICAL SCENE, WHEREAS THE ARGENTINE ARMED FORCES SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II HAVE PERCEIVED THE US AS A NATURAL ALLY WITHIN THE RIO TREATY FRAMEWORK THROUGH WHICH A PERMANENT MILITARY SUPPLY RELATIONSHIP WAS SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN CREATED. THESE HOPES HAVE NOW BEEN DASHED, ACCORDING TO THIS VIEW, AND RESULTANT FRUSTRATION REPORTEDLY HAS PRODUCED THE MORE VITRIOLIC REACTION AGAINST THE US.

6. IN ADDITION TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY COMMUNIQUE, THE ONLY FORMAL ACTION TAKEN TO DATE BY THE GOA IN PROTEST AGAINST RECENT US HUMAN RIGHTS MOVES HAS BEEN THE CANCELLATION OF ARGENTINE NAVY PARTICIPATION IN THE ANNUAL UNITAS EXERCISE. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, THE ARGENTINE NAVY HAS SIGNALLED TO US THAT PORT CALLS BY US SHIPS WILL BE WELCOME AND THAT THE USUAL PROVISIONING REQUIREMENTS WILL BE FULFILLED. A NAVY SOURCE HAS SUMMARIZED ITS POSTURE BY PHILOSOPHIZING "WHEN YOU SHUT THE DOOR, YOU MUST KEEP THE WINDOW OPEN." WE ARE AWARE THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS DIVIDED AS TO WHETHER --AH, IF SO, HOW -- TO RESPOND TO PERCEIVED US "INSULTS". WE ARE ALREADY RECEIVING HINTS THAT THERE WILL BE A RESURGENCE OF ANTI-US CAMPAIGNING--THIS TIME MORE CLEARLY UNDER GOVERNMENT SPONSORSHIP--WHEN THE HUMPHREY-KENNEY AMENDMENT COMES INTO EFFECT AT THE END OF SEPTEMBER.

7. AN UNDERLYING THEME COMMONLY HEARD IS THAT STATE DEPARTMENT PRESSURES ARE INSATIABLE AND FORM PART OF A WELL-PLANNED, MULTI-STAGE US OFFENSIVE AGAINST ARGENTINA. FIRST, THE ARGENTINES COMPLAIN, US EMPHASIS WAS ON ALLEVIATING THE SITUATION OF A HANDFUL OF INDIVIDUAL HIGH-INTEREST CASES. WHEN THE GOA MOVED TO ACCOMMODATE THESE REQUESTS, THE US ALLEGEDLY TIGHTENED THE SCREWS A NOTCH BY DEMANDING DIFFICULT POLICY MEASURES SUCH AS RELEASING TERRORIST SUSPECTS HELD UNDER THE PEN, ETC. THE LATEST US DEMANDS ARE SEEN AS COVER FOR WHAT IS BELIEVED TO BE THE TRUE US OBJECTIVE, NAMELY, INSISTENCE ON A TIMETABLE FOR A RETURN TO DEMOCRACY IN ARGENTINA. ARGENTINE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS READ THE LETELIER CASE AS A US EFFORT BALDLY TO OVERTHROW THE PINOCHET REGIME--I.E., A RESURGENCE OF TRADITIONAL YANKEE IMPERIALISM IN THE HEMISPHERE UNDER THE BEHIGN GUISE OF PROMOTING UNIVERSAL HUMAN RIGHTS. FROM THERE IT IS A SHORT STEP TO PARADOXICALLY IMAGING ALL KINDS OF EVIDENCE OF A US DESTABILIZATION EFFORT AGAINST THEM AS WELL. PARADOXICALLY, ARGENTINES, SPURRED ON BY CONCERN OVER POSSIBLE HOSTILITIES WITH CHILE, ALREADY FEAR THERE IS A US PLAN TO FLOOD CHILE WITH ARMS SUPPLIES ONCE THE PINOCHET REGIME IS OVERTHROWN IN A MOVE BELIEVED DESIGNED TO APPLY ADDITIONAL PRESSURE ON ARGENTINA.

8. THE FLAREUP FOLLOWING THE EXIM BANK DECISION AND MS. DERIAN'S TESTIMONY PRODUCED A SPLURGE OF PATRIOTIC PUBLIC AVOWALS FROM PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE

CITIZENRY AT LARGE. ONE LADIES' MAGAZINE, PARA TI, FOR EXAMPLE (PART OF THE EDITORIAL ATLANTIDA GROUP WHICH PUBLISHED THE MULTI-PAGE ADVERTISEMENT IN THE NEW YORK TIMES A FEW WEEKS AGO), CONVENIENTLY PROVIDES POSTCARD CUTOUTS TO BE SENT TO ~~YOUR FAVORITE PERSONALITY~~. WE HAVE ALSO SEEN A RUSH OF LETTER-WRITING FROM ORDINARY CITIZENS EXPRESSING NATIONALIST INDIGNATION OVER THE CAMPAIGN TO DEFAME ARGENTINA FROM ABROAD. SOME OF THESE ARE PERSONALLY ADDRESSED TO PATT DERIAN. YET, THERE IS AN ADDITIONAL THEME RUNNING THROUGH SOME OF THESE PRONOUNCEMENTS, WHICH CALLS FOR AN END TO THE EMERGENCY WHILE AT THE SAME TIME REPUDIATING ALLEGED US INTRUSION IN ARGENTINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS. THE MESSAGE CONTAINED IN THE CLARIN EDITORIAL OF AUGUST 18 (REFTELS B AND C) THAT IF THE TERRORISTS HAVE BEEN ROUNDLY DEFEATED AS THE GOVERNMENT CLAIMS, THERE IS NO FURTHER NEED OF CLANDESTINE ARRESTS AND OTHER MANIFESTATIONS OF "THE DIRTY WAR"-- HAS SHOWN UP AGAIN IN ONE OR TWO STATEMENTS FROM PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. IT IS VERY DIFFICULT TO PERCEIVE EVIDENCE OF A CAUSAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN US PRESSURES AND THESE AS YET SPARSE, ALMOST GINGERLY PRONOUNCEMENTS OF CONCERN ABOUT DISAPPEARANCES AND OTHER CONTINUING SIGNS OF INDIVIDUAL INSECURITY. THIRTY MONTHS AFTER THE COUP AND IN THE CONTEXT OF THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND STAGE OF THE NATIONAL REORGANIZATION PROCESS WITH ITS REHEWED CALL FOR "A DIALOGUE," IT MAY BE THAT THIS IS A LOGICAL IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME.

9. HOWEVER, WE SEE THESE TIMID FIRST SIGNS OF PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENT AS PREMATURE IN TERMS OF HAVING AN INFLUENCE ON HARD-CORE ARMY VIEWS. WHILE THE NUMBER OF ANTI-TERRORIST OPERATIONS HAS BEEN REDUCED, THE OPERATING METHODS HAVE NOT CHANGED. WE CONTINUE TO HEAR THAT THE NEW ARMY CHIEF, GENERAL VIOLA, WISHES TO TIGHTEN CONTROL OVER THE SECURITY APPARATUS AND CONTINUE THE LONG TREK TOWARDS SOME DEGREE OF NORMALIZATION. HOWEVER, THIS OBJECTIVE IS DEPENDENT UPON THE REMOVAL OF KEY HANDLINERS POLITICALLY OPPOSED TO THE VIDELA-VIOLA POWER CENTER, E.G., ARMY FIRST CORPS COMMANDER SUAREZ MASON. UNTIL THIS PROBLEM IS RESOLVED WE DO NOT FORESEE ANY FURTHER SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS EVEN WITH RESPECT TO OUR OUTSTANDING HIGH-INTEREST CASES SUCH AS TITHERMAN. CASTRO

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